

REBEL DESTINY

241 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river
361 goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the
water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded,
and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to
[136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a
field, will destroy everything. They like especially the
[137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young
leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and
farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields
must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

• 311 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why
241 did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time
the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that
had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our
ancestors found much land for us. When we want new
fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

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As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba,
Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and
[521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests
and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a
man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works
has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near
to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of
his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field
must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and
rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having
311 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to
241 see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly,
776 he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete
in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi
tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes,
or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the
bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree
wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

THE PROVISION GROUND

might catch fire were a wind to come up when the under-
brush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which
the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has
to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so
that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its
own shape. 311
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Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is
found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his
relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their
machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they
cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and
then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving
what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would
be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and
fertilizes the ground as well." 241
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[462]

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let
the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie
for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry
season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the
ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is
not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets
the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went
on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that
the woman begins her work in this field. What was done
before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb
says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair." 462
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The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps
him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again
interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an
iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did
hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast
of burden to help him in the fields. [412]

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consec-
ration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each
clan, and often from village to village of the same clan. 241

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121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
 [241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
 121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
 [103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
 121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
 648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
 [311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
 221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
 132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
 462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and
 the same ground.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of
the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that
one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore,
under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the
balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the con-
version of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and
rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which
forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the grow-
ing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral
components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this dis-
turbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-
30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again
enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves
into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by
digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old
leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it.
If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per
hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a
maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able
to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new
grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the
Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this
forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there
are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf
material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a
terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush
Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the
ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

600/141 cont. /

241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes

● 311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/142 cont. /

101 circumstances because with their lower population density they
162 are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them
311 in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more
serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable
timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls,
woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss
of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the
Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice
is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this,
the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden
times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such
a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby
hindered.

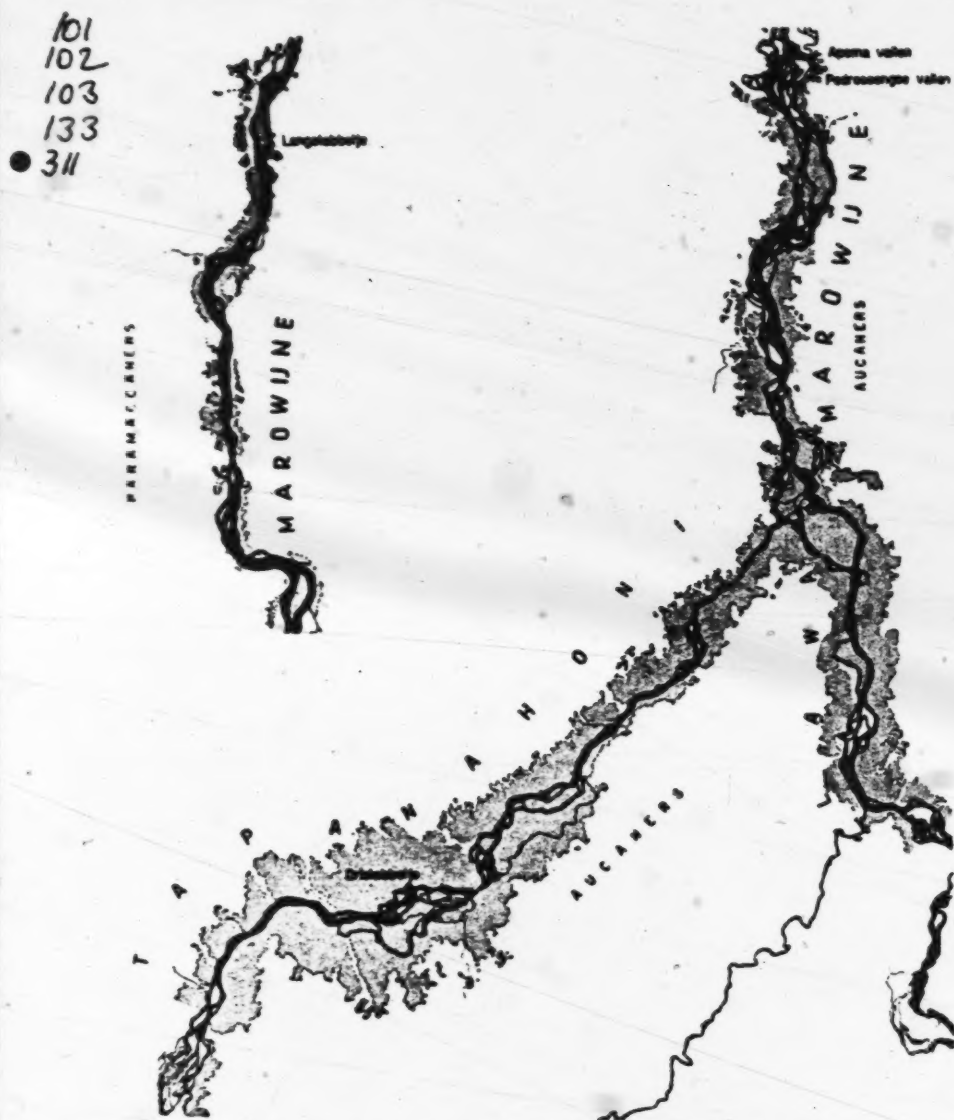
[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious
and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable,
with the consequence that the health situation will require more
and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of
bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods
by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attrac-
tive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the
[464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work
in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood
along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through gov-
ernment channels in time to help this bush population out of the
impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become
seriously felt.



Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

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Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

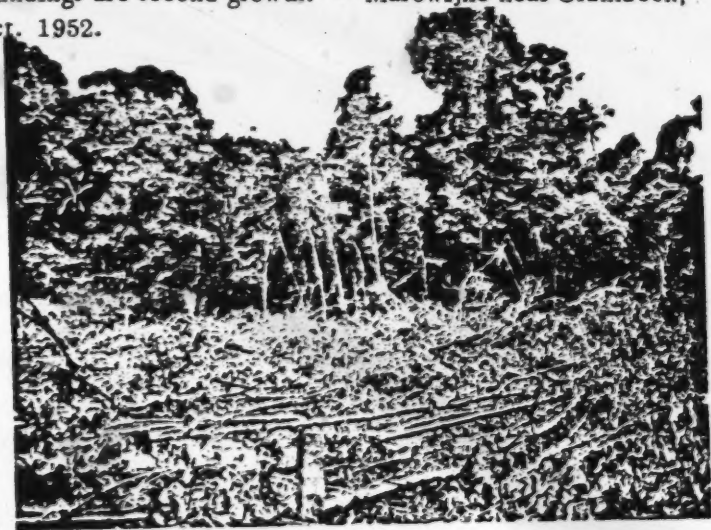


Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

B /512 cont. /

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137 The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
241 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture
5 on burned-over land.

• 5
311 Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
504 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
368 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
B the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
R walk.

433 The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
B fishing, and canoeing.

R
262 There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc,
eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of
couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams,
dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
B and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from
[241] which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

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[226] The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

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[231] Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting con-
stitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition,
for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes),
which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from
wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

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146 Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults,
having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient
land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great
variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in
calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the
Indian children.

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This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling, most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

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All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inundation makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

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The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.

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Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

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1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the
contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures
is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods)
to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses
accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks be-
comes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds,
insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
187 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
132 a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
412 step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
133 with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded
men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in
making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited
forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by
cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The open-
ing of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot
progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontane-
ously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and
cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the
resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there
are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do
not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come
from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is
cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind
in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for
many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/8 cont. /

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177 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

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182 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").

[177] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

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182 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

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177 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

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[2:26] Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

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501 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

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[241] There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

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824 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.

824 In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.

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[222] The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

- 173
[125] 1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
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[361] 1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

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Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

-- Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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-- The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

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● 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

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423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

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000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

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[241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).

423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïstou group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings
13 are held by women and three by men.

[614] Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geo-
graphically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without
ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term.
Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé
Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the
members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

• [311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for
about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of
manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent
clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	Δ Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32	Δ Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

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[578] Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

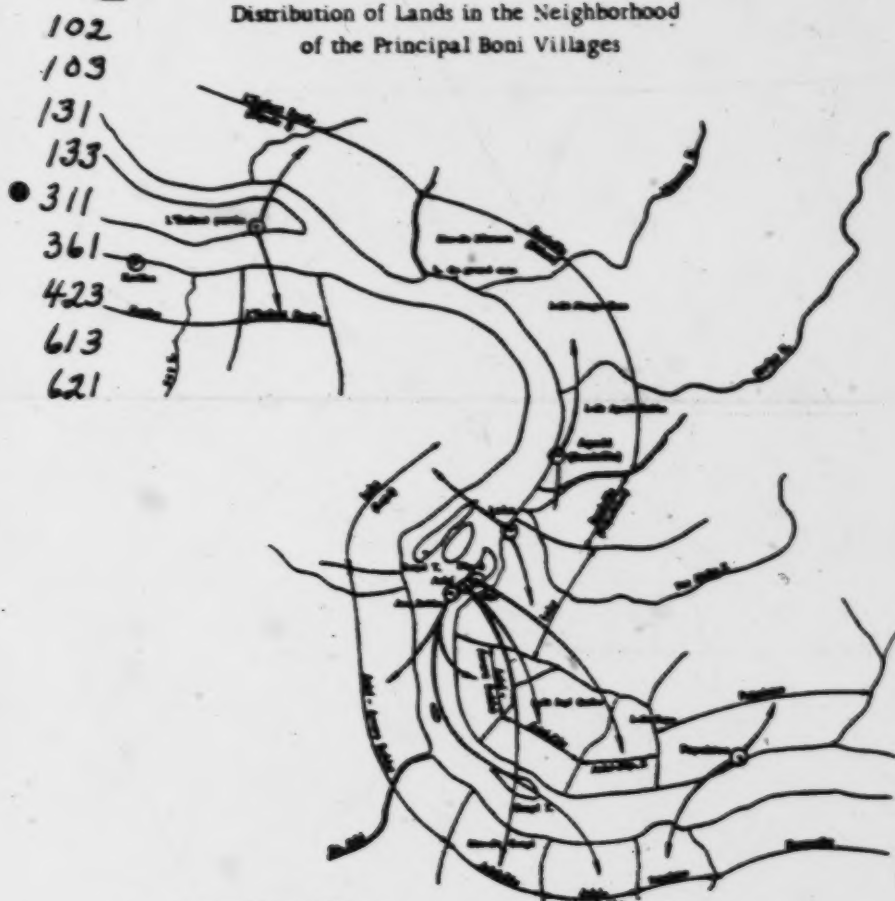
Study of several clearings of Papaïstou village. The part of the Papaïstou finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111	○ Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa- ïstou lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112	○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	<u>id.</u>	<u>id.</u>
113	○ Oden (P1, E13)	1950	<u>id.</u>	<u>id.</u>

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Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
— Boundary lines

Scale: 1:1000

/K. or Cr. = Creek,

Lieu-dit = locality,

h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,

Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

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CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

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182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks,
in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and
with the historical conditions under which these societies were
formed, directly influence their material life in its various
aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work,
trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern
for complete material independence.

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311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the
various households issuing from the same kin group were very
rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks
like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently oc-
cupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds
isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a
kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals.
Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection
against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The
Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the
manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

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157
241
31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562
241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157
476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157
454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Bonl

102

103

131

133

162

311

316

361

423

613

614

621

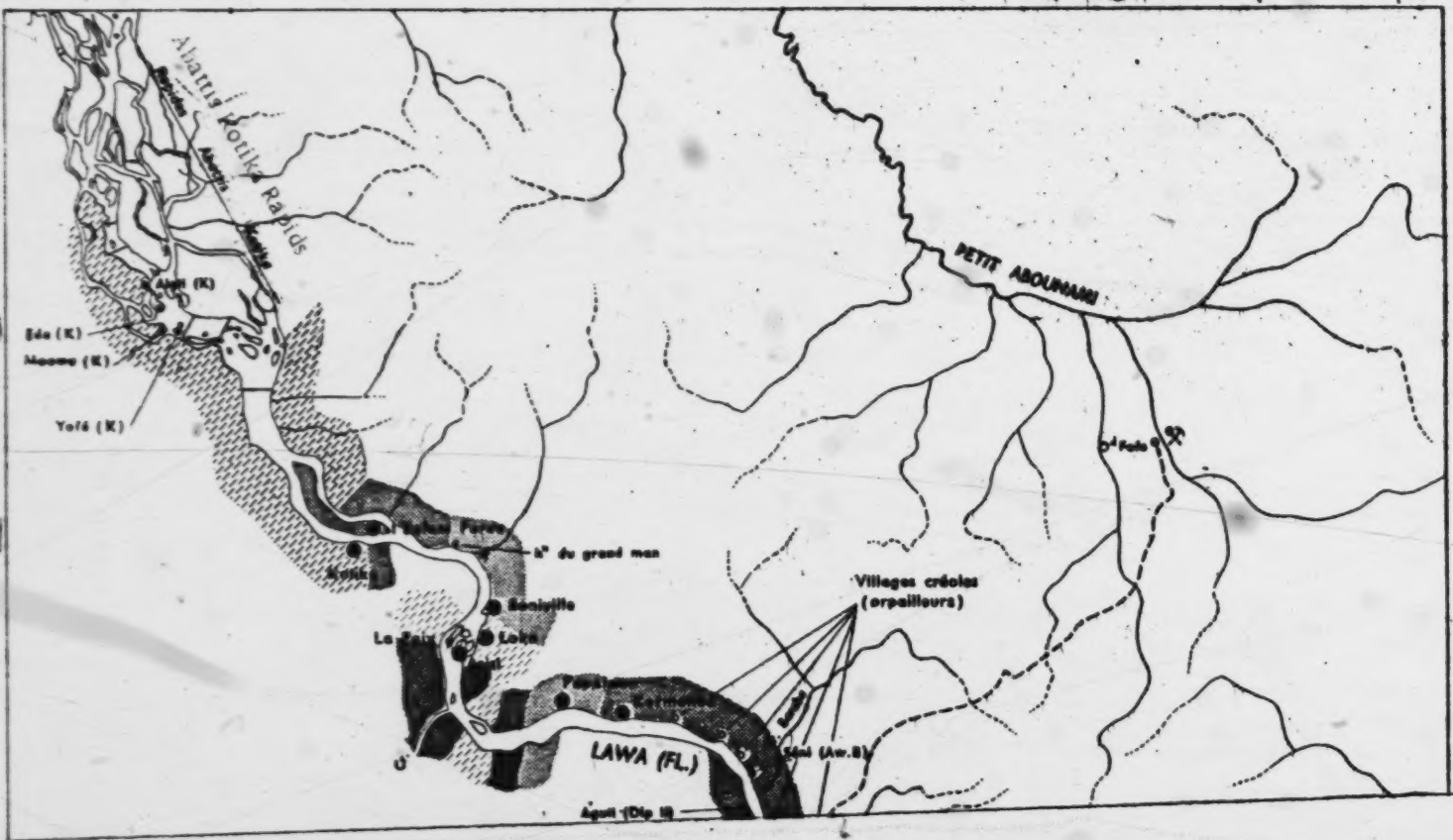
A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6: Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

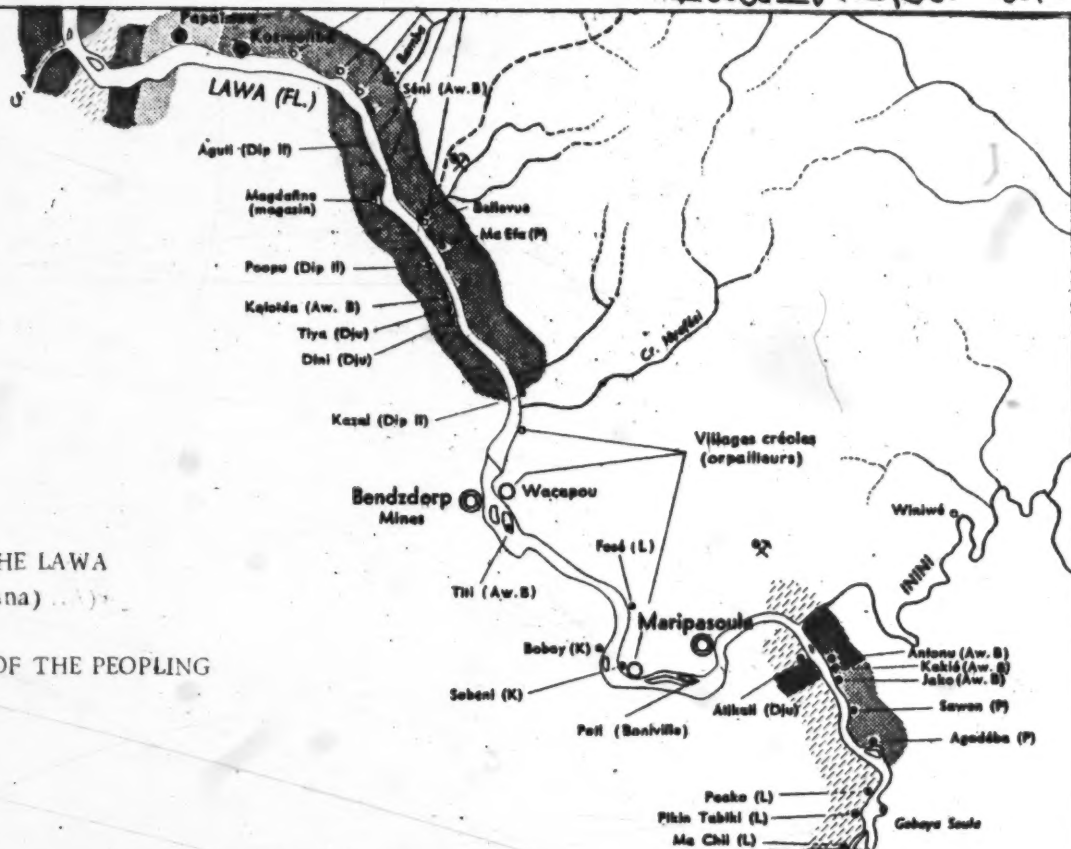
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



End Map-A

[End Map - B]

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING



102
103
131
133
162
311
316
423
613
614
621

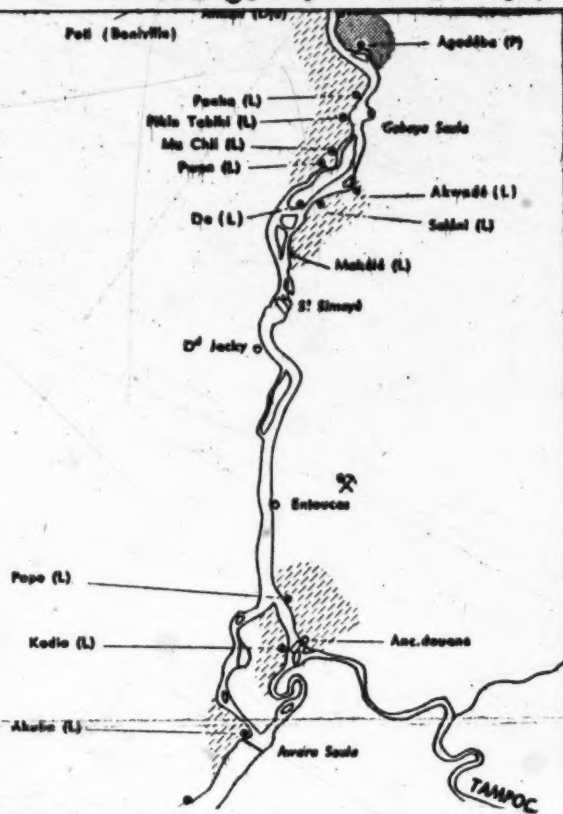
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

Villages and Farming Habitations in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- ✕ Small gold workings
- Indian villages

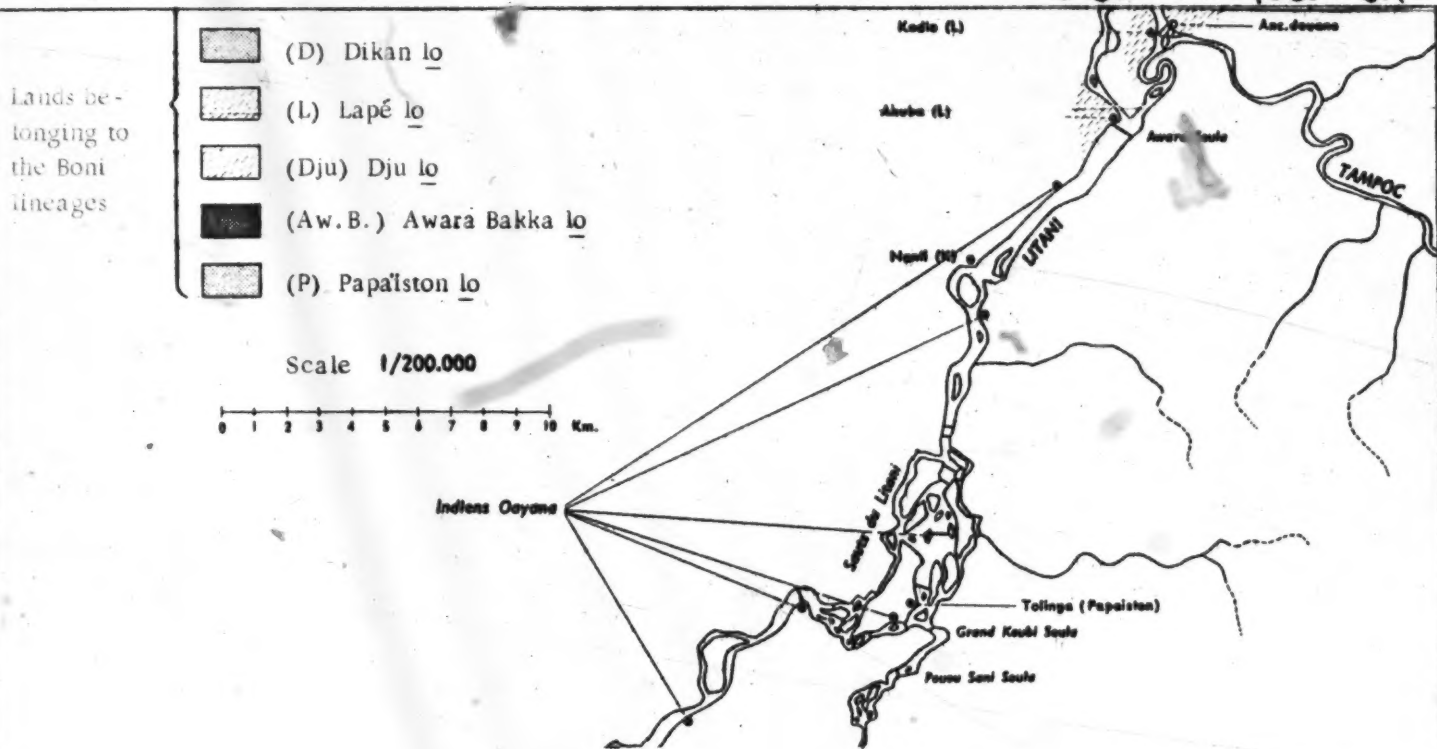
- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo

Lands be-
longing to
the Boni
lineages



[End Map-5]

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
423
613
614
621



[End Map-D]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Bonl

102

103

133

241

311

361

423

487

504

613

614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)
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Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6: Hurault-- 580

K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
• 311
361
423
489
613
614
504



Photographic montage made with the help of
photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate - A]

6: Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
• 311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504



Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6: Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

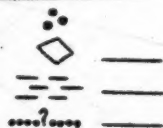
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



Scale 1 / 20 000

1000 m 1 km

[End Plate-C]



6: Hurault--583

K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| •• Agodé Permanent villages | •• farming habitation |
| ◇ clearings | •• dēgrad (wharf) |
| --- floodable zones | --- path |
| ••?.... boundaries not known | approximate boundaries of agricultural land |

[End Plate-D]